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CONRAD THAKE

ENVISIONING THE ORIENT: THE NEW MUSLIM CEMETERY IN MALTA

The Maltese islands, situated at the crossroads of the central Mediterranean basin between Sicily and the North African coast of Tunisia and Libya, have throughout their history been ruled by diverse foreign powers, ranging from the Romans (ca. 218 B.C.–A.D. 395), the Byzantines (535–869), the Arabs (870–1090), the Normans (1090–1265), the Angevins (1266–82), the Aragonese (1283–1529), the Order of Saint John (1530–1798), the French (1798–1800), and the British (1801–1964). With the notable exception of Malta's prehistoric temples dating to 5000 B.C., the imposing network of military fortifications and the Renaissance city of Valletta founded by the knights of the Order of Saint John have overshadowed other architectural legacies. In the aftermath of the Great Siege of 1565, the island of Malta, now under the rule of the Order, established itself as a strategic military base and bulwark of Christianity against the westward expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Local historical studies have tended to depict a heroic, predominantly Christian island state that throughout different periods in its history managed to successfully repel incursions by foreign Muslim powers. One unintentional result of this has been that the few local art and architectural forms emanating from non-Christian cultures have been underappreciated and not given the attention they deserve.

The main objective of this paper is to highlight the historical and architectural significance of a unique nineteenth-century Muslim cemetery complex built under the auspices of the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76). It is the final culmination of several Muslim cemeteries that were discreetly established on the island in various historical periods. The way in which a Muslim cemetery has been represented from a Western cultural

perspective—through Orientalist imagery and the conceptual ideals of Romanticism—will be explored with specific reference to the establishment of this late Ottoman cemetery in a British island colony. However, prior to considering this subject in detail it would be useful to briefly trace the historical backdrop of the Muslim presence on the island.

Muslim cemeteries have been found in Malta since at least the eleventh century. The conquest of the island in A.D. 870, spearheaded by the Aghlabids in Muslim Sicily, would suggest the establishment of Muslim burial sites.¹ Recent historical studies have postulated the theory that initially it was more the case of a violent *razzia* leading to a virtually depopulated island, rather than a whole-scale occupation of Malta during the tenth century.² Although Roger the Norman did temporarily conquer the island in 1091, political instability was still the order of the day and the Muslim presence and influence remained widely prevalent. It was not until the year 1224, subsequent to further military expeditions by the Normans from Sicily, that the Latin Christianization of Malta was virtually complete. Architectural remains and artifacts dating from the Arab period are sparse and no notable structures or buildings from this period have survived.

In 1881, archaeological excavations conducted on the site of the Roman *Domus*, just outside the walls of the settlement of Melite (Mdina), revealed the presence of an extensive eleventh-century Muslim cemetery estimated to have more than 245 graves placed directly over Roman-era floors.³ The bodies were buried in an east-west orientation, lying on their sides with the heads facing south. Between 1920 and 1925, Sir Themistocles Zammit led further archaeological investigations on a

number of fragmented tombstones made predominantly of local globigerina limestone and prismatic in form. The type of tombstones referred to here are known as *mqabriyyah*, with origins in the Maghreb region of North Africa. The Kufic inscriptions carved into the tombstones were mostly quotations from the Koran, although some record the name of the deceased along with their dates of death.⁴

Some five hundred years later, in 1675, another Muslim cemetery was established along the Strada Croce della Marsa, in the Menqa area and a short distance from Spencer Hill, Blata il-Bajda. That year, Grand Master Nicolo Cotoner granted land to be used as a cemetery to the predominantly Turkish Muslim slave community.⁵ It replaced an earlier one that had been destroyed by the knights when the Floriana line of fortifications was built after 1635. An eighteenth-century map shows the cemetery, designated as the “Cimitero de Turchi,” situated along the “Sciat El Kuabar,” underlying the Kortin headland (fig. 1).⁶ The Muslim cemetery remained in use until 1873, when the main road network leading to Floriana and Valletta was completely re-planned, necessitating the transfer of the cemetery to its present location in Marsa.⁷

On July 12, 1873, the local newspaper, *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette*, published the following short announcement:

A New Mahomedan Cemetery at Malta—We are credibly informed that the local Government has acceded a grant of wasteland on the rise to Casal Luca from the Marsa, in the vicinity of the former Paper Manufactory to the Ottoman Consul General for the formation of a more decent place of sepulture, than has heretofore been appropriated to those dying in Malta, professing the creed of Mahomet. We have also been given to understand that in this concession there is a special reference that the Consul General for the Empire of Morocco and the Regency of Tunis is to have the right of holding a key; but why a like privilege has not been stipulated in the contract in favour of the Consul for Persia, for the subjects of the Shah, is likely to form the subject of Official enquiry through the Minister in London.⁸

Even before this formal notice in the local press, negotiations had been underway for quite some time. Correspondence dating to 1865 between Antoine Naoum Duhany, representing the Ottoman consulate, and Victor Houlton, the chief secretary of state, reveals several

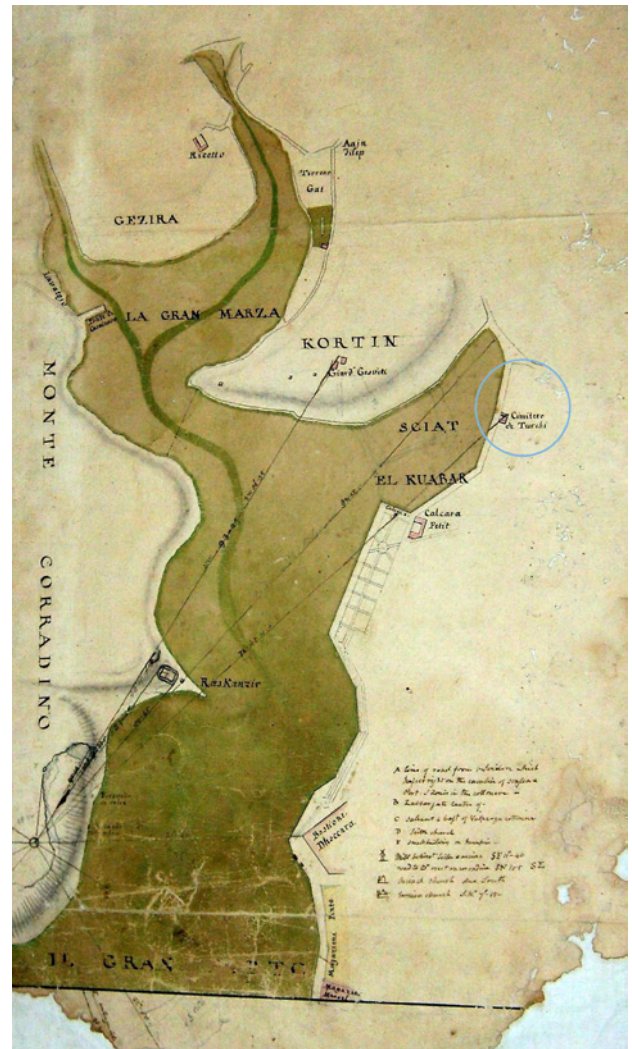


Fig. 1. Map showing the location (circled in blue) of the seventeenth-century Muslim cemetery designated as the “Cimitero de Turchi” along the “Sciat el Kuabar.” (Map: courtesy of the National Library Malta, Valletta)

issues relating to the repair and maintenance of the old cemetery and ambiguities as to the title of ownership.⁹ In a letter dated March 2, 1865 and addressed to the local British governor, Duhany claimed that he “had been authorized by the Government of the Sublime Ottoman Porte to make some repairs in the cemetery destined for the internment of Mussalmans dying in the islands and requesting [*sic*] that before incurring the expense necessary for effecting those repairs that that [i.e., the Ottoman] Government be recognized as the sole and

exclusive owner of that ground.”¹⁰ Almost six months later, the chief secretary of state responded to Duhany, saying, “I am directed to state that on receipt of that communication, His Excellency [the British governor] caused a careful inquiry to be made in to the circumstances connected with the original acquisition as well as the present possession and management of that burial ground.”¹¹ Houlton’s letter sheds light on the establishment of the cemetery and its administration over the years:

The result of that investigation is that the property of that cemetery the ground for which was purchased and paid for by the Government of the knights of St John in 1674 is now vested in the present Government of Malta, that the management of it was in 1842 placed in the hands of the late Mr Antonio Farrugia, the Consul for the Ottoman Porte as well as for the Empire of Morocco and the Regency of Tunis, and that gentleman as it appears from the correspondence as also from an epigraph on the door of the cemetery, caused in that year several repairs to be made in it, by direction and at the expense of the Tunisian government with the consent of the Government of Malta and under such circumstances it is impossible for His Excellency to accede to your request.¹²

The letter also makes reference to previous discussions held between Duhany and Maltese administrators as to how the eventual transfer of the cemetery to another location would be financed. The presumption that the original cemetery was the property of the Ottoman government had led to the expectation that any expense incurred in transferring the cemetery would be borne by the treasury of the local colonial government. Houlton, however, explicitly stated that in light of the inquiry that had established that it was not the Ottoman Porte but the Maltese government that was the sole legitimate owner of the land, this proposition could no longer be entertained. Furthermore, besides ownership rights held by the Maltese government, it was also stated that the Regency of Tunis could potentially make their own claim, having in the past financed extensive repairs to the existing cemetery.

The official contractual agreement relating to the transfer of land and terms regulating the establishment of a new Muslim cemetery was signed on June 11, 1873.¹³ The deed was registered by the notary Francesco Saverio Camilleri and signed by Naoum Duhany as the Ottoman

consul in Malta and Giovanni Battista Trapani in his capacity as collector of the Department of Land Revenue and Public Works and representative of the governor of Malta.¹⁴ The transfer of the land necessitated the termination of the existing rental lease, with the lessee being compensated by being given full ownership of an adjoining parcel of land fronting the public road. The agreement made it amply clear that the Maltese government could dispose of the land occupied by the old Muslim cemetery as it deemed fit without any other form of compensation being due.

Details of the deed were published in the form of a legal government notice. Attached to the government notice was a block plan signed by the architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia (d. 1907) and bearing the date September 27, 1871 (fig. 2).¹⁵ The plan provides details as to the location of the site, the boundaries of the proposed cemetery, and the basic dimensions of the land allocated. The site designated for the new cemetery is referred to as “Ta Sammat” in Marsa, on the road leading to Luqa and Qormi. The allocated land had a superficial area of 543 square canes (a local unit of measurement, the square cane or *qasba kwadra* is equivalent to approximately 5.25 square yards), which was precisely double the area of the old cemetery. The designated land had a rectangular configuration, or, more precisely, a double-square plan specifying a width of 113 feet and a depth of 226 feet. It was stipulated that the cemetery was to be separated from the surrounding fields belonging to third parties by means of a continuous open passage referred to as a *strada* on the plan. This passage was to have a width of 20 feet on three sides, widening to a 30-foot setback from the main public street. It was also stated that a boundary wall was to be erected around the entire open passage, with all expenses for its construction to be borne by the Ottoman sultanate.¹⁶

The contractual deed stipulated that all Muslims, irrespective of their nationality, could be buried in the new cemetery. Furthermore, it was decreed that the old cemetery had to be vacated within six months from the date of the contract. The bones of all those interred in the cemetery would be removed under the supervision of the police and the direction of the governor’s principal medical officer. The deed also secured the vested rights of the Regent of Tunis, stipulating that once the

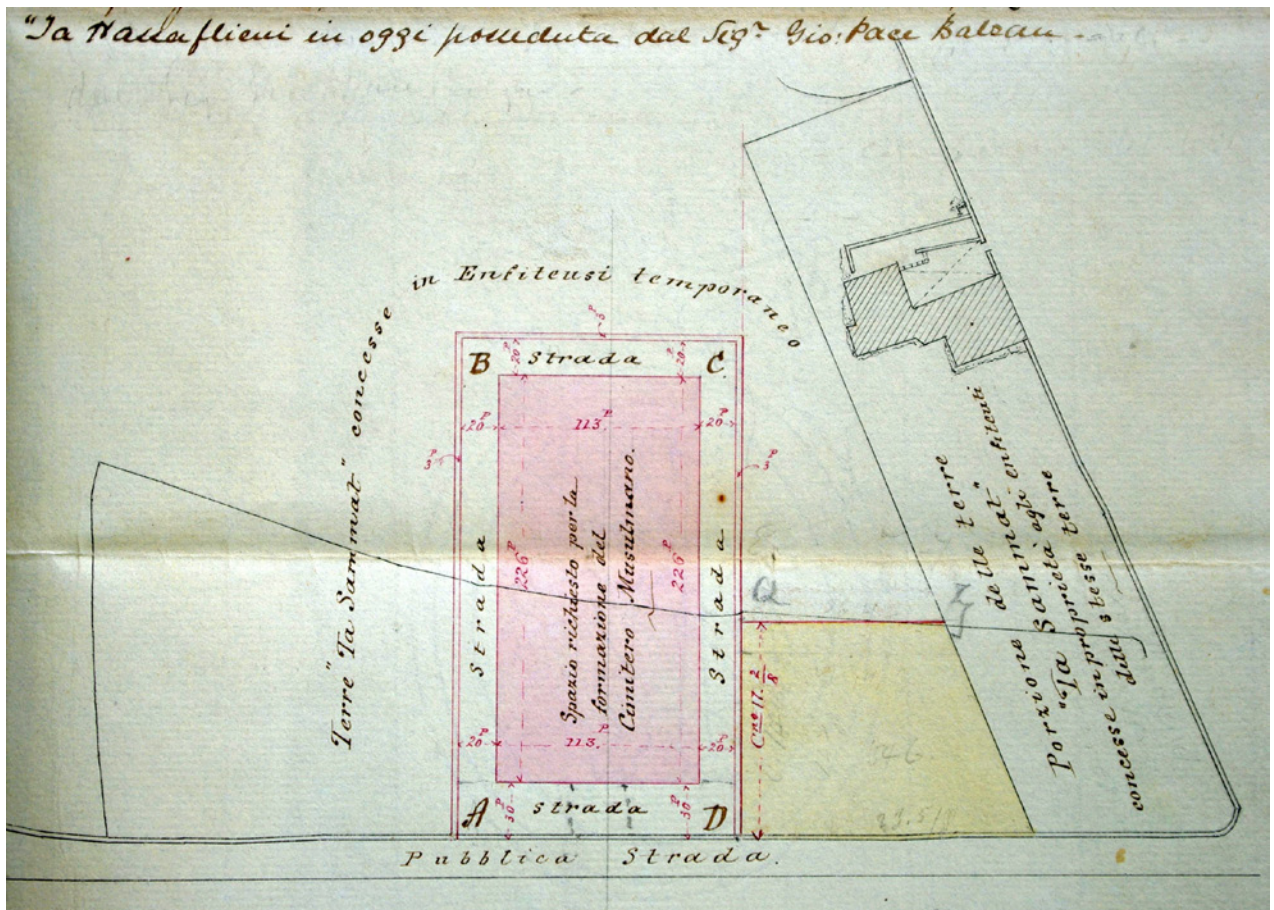


Fig. 2. Manuscript plan signed by the architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia and dated 1871, delineating the boundaries and dimensions of the land designated as the site for the new Muslim cemetery, Marsa. (Plan: courtesy of the National Archives of Malta)

new cemetery was completed a key to the complex had to be submitted to Lorenzo Farrugia in his capacity as the Tunisian consul in Malta. A few months prior to the signing of the agreement, the Tunisian consulate had officially requested that the governor ensure that the past rights enjoyed by Tunisian subjects be safeguarded within the context of the new cemetery.¹⁷

The dynamics of patronage and the dissemination of neo-Ottoman architecture

As patron of the new Muslim cemetery, Sultan Abdülaziz committed himself to financing the entire project. The choice of the architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia to

undertake the design must have been a natural one given the success of his earlier Addolorata Cemetery, coincidentally situated in relative proximity to the site of the Muslim cemetery (figs. 3 and 4).¹⁸ The manner by which Galizia was awarded the commission is not clear, but one can assume that he would have been highly recommended to the sultan by the British colonial administrators. The Maltese architect had already proven himself to be highly capable, having designed and completed two major funerary complexes, at Ta' Braxia and the Addolorata Cemetery. Even more relevant may have been the fact that Emanuele Luigi's brother, Joseph Galizia, was then the consul for Malta in Constantinople, and his official position and contacts would have been



Fig. 3. The architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia in ceremonial uniform during his tenure as superintendent of public works, between 1880 and 1888. (Photo: courtesy of the Richard Ellis Archive—Malta)



Fig. 4. Carte de visite of Sultan Abdülaziz, albumen print by J. Cook, (London, 1867). (Photo: private collection of Conrad Thake)

useful in securing the project.¹⁹ Furthermore, the presence in Constantinople of the famous and well-connected Maltese artist Count Amadeo Preziosi (d. 1882) could also have led to a further endorsement of Galizia's abilities, should this have been necessary.²⁰

Upon his accession on June 25, 1861, Sultan Abdülaziz, the thirty-second sultan of the Ottoman Empire, cultivated good relations with both the Second French Empire and the British.²¹ In 1867, he was the first Ottoman sultan to visit Western Europe. His trip included a visit to Paris for the Exposition universelle and to England, where he was inducted as a Knight of the Garter by Queen Victoria and attended a Royal Navy Review with Isma'il Pasha of Egypt (r. 1863–79). It was during this tour that Sultan Abdülaziz appears to have briefly visited Malta, on June 26–27, 1867, to commemorate and pay homage to the Ottomans who had died during the

Great Siege of 1565 under Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66).²² The local British colonial authorities had been given prior notice of a short visit by the sultan while he was in transit from Messina on his way to Naples and then the port of Toulon.²³ A few weeks before, Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the governor-general of Tripoli (1860–67), had also visited Malta. Mahmud Nedim was a close confidant of Abdülaziz and his trip could have been related to the sultan's planned stay on the island later that month.²⁴ The exact program of the sultan's visit to Malta remains unclear.

Sultan Abdülaziz continued to actively pursue the reform of conservative Ottoman institutions as he navigated the difficult and, at times, treacherous transition from a militant and expansionist imperial state to a modern sovereign nation that cultivated good relations with Western Europe.²⁵ However, within this political

context it is relevant to note that Abdülaziz was a direct beneficiary of the earlier Tanzimat reforms initiated by his brother and predecessor, Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61). Abdülaziz's position within the Tanzimat period is representative of the later period, when “modernizing reforms were reconsidered and revised from within a more conservative perspective—hence the emergence of a revivalist trend in Ottoman art and architecture.”²⁶

Within the realm of architecture he promoted the concept of a classical revival of traditional Ottoman architectural forms through the formulation of a code of architectural principles. The propagation and dissemination of a neo-Ottoman architectural language in a symbiotic relation with Western European tradition is clearly manifested in *Uşûl-i Mi'mâri-i 'Osmânî* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture, henceforth abbreviated as *Uşûl*), or *L'architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873), which was published by the Ottoman government on the occasion of the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna.²⁷ The publication sought to elucidate and articulate the principal rules, geometry, and science of Ottoman architecture, within a comprehensive framework laid out “in accordance with the standards of the Beaux-Arts model.” It was intended as an instrument of architectural discourse that propagated the dissemination of a new Ottoman architectural style on par with other eclectic and revival historical styles on the European continent. According to Ahmet Ersoy, one of the main objectives of the *Uşûl* was to create “a model for contemporary architects who, inspired by prevailing experiments in European eclecticism, were striving to devise a new synthetic idiom for late Ottoman architecture.”²⁸

In *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, Zeynep Çelik describes how the Ottomans actively participated in a number of world's fairs in the latter half of the century. This, she says, had a major impact on the course of Ottoman architectural history. Léon Parvillée's *Architecture et décoration turques* (Paris, 1874), published following the Parisian Exposition universelle of 1867, sought to disseminate theoretical concepts and principles of Ottoman architecture to a wider European audience.²⁹ The new era in Ottoman architecture has to be viewed within the context of a dual, symbiotic relationship that developed between Ottoman and Western European

architectural schools of thought. Çelik identifies Sultan Abdülaziz as a leading agent of change and modernity in the search for a “neo-Ottoman” architecture that had the capacity to absorb Western influences and meld them with traditional Ottoman architecture.

Sultan Abdülaziz's desire to partake in the cultural life of Europe was reflected in the meticulous attention given to the design and construction of the Ottoman pavilions for the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris....The 1867 pavilions marked a turning point in Ottoman architectural history as the end products of a theoretical study whose terms were defined in Europe. Although the change appears to have been enforced from the outside, it should be understood within the general framework of Westernizing reforms undertaken by the ruling elite....If they heralded a new theoretical viewpoint from which the Ottoman architectural heritage could be assessed and recycled, they also revised European architects' and architectural critics' stereotypes of Islamic architecture as a merely sensuous play of decorative devices.³⁰

The Paris Exhibition can be regarded as the international launch of a distinctive new Ottoman Islamic architectural style.³¹ This wave of Ottoman revivalism found fertile ground within the nineteenth-century architectural scene and was fuelled by strong sentiments of patriotism. Sibel Bozdoğan argues that “some of the orientalized and pseudo-islamic styles that had been feeding the European imagination in the public spectacle of the great expositions had also made their way to Istanbul.”³²

During the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, various Italian and French architects were invited and commissioned to conduct both theoretical research and architectural work in Istanbul.³³ A number of projects reflected Abdülaziz's ambitions of cultivating a neo-Ottoman architectural style that merged traditional Ottoman forms with classical Western European forms.³⁴ For example, the new Beylerbeyi Palace, which served as the sultan's summer residence between 1861 and 1865, reconciled French neo-Baroque architecture with traditional Ottoman elements. Other manifestations of the neo-Ottoman style include the Ministry of Defense gatehouse (1867), by the French architect Marie-Auguste Antoine Bourgeois, and the Malta Kiosk (1870) at Yıldız Park, designed by the architect Sarkis Balyan (d. 1899).³⁵ Balyan's

Malta Kiosk is of particular interest in this context, as it utilized limestone imported directly from the island for the construction of some of its specific architectural elements.³⁶

The project of the new Muslim cemetery in Malta raises a series of challenging issues that are best addressed through a critical assessment of the dynamics of patronage. Several lines of inquiry arise. What was the political significance of this Orientalist project that was primarily intended as an architectural representation of the Ottoman Empire and conceived within a small British colonial island in the Mediterranean at the southernmost edge of Europe? To what degree was this “blatantly exotic Orientalist building on foreign land” dictated and directed by the Ottoman sultanate? How did the project contribute to the “revised meaning and role of Orientalism in Ottoman hands,” particularly in light of the fact that the architect was Maltese? Beyond purely stylistic considerations, how did the project relate to the “various forms of revivalism at the Ottoman centre”?³⁷ The responses to these multifarious lines of inquiry do not conform to one linear discourse or narrative. The Ottoman sultanate, in the “process of positioning itself in relation to European cultural traditions,” perceived this project of a new Muslim cemetery in Malta on various ideological levels.³⁸ The project represented an ideal opportunity to establish a tangible physical presence of “neo-Ottoman culture” on an island whose inhabitants historically associated the Ottomans with the vanquished invaders of the Great Siege of 1565, when under the rule of the Order of St. John, and against all odds, they had managed to repel Sultan Süleyman’s forces. On a symbolic level, the implementation of a grand architectural statement in Malta can be interpreted as a catharsis of this historical episode. At the same time, it was also a way to project an image of a new “coming of age,” an energized and revived Ottoman state that would be viewed on a cultural par with Western European powers, and specifically, in this case, with the British Empire. The other ideological motive was that the establishment of the new Muslim cemetery was being undertaken under the exclusive patronage of the Ottoman sultanate, hence propagating the notion of the Ottoman state’s benevolence and guardianship of Islam in a foreign land that was overwhelmingly Christian and

with no substantial Muslim community residing there. Malta was situated along the main trading routes within the Mediterranean; Muslims traveling in the area might stop briefly in Valletta along the island’s Grand Harbour, on their way to Egypt, Constantinople, and Mecca. The majority of Muslims buried in the cemetery had died in conflicts overseas or on mercantile or military vessels, and very few were permanently based in Malta. Even then, the ethnic roots of several of those buried there originated beyond the strict territorial boundaries of the Ottoman state. Thus, the new Muslim cemetery served to position the Ottoman state in Malta as the sole official representative of Muslims within a British colonial outpost in the Mediterranean.

Sultan Abdülaziz’s willingness to engage a Maltese architect in the production of an overtly exotic and Orientalist building is intriguing, since it seemingly “reverses the power dynamics traditionally associated with Orientalism.”³⁹ Within this context one can argue that there were various interlocutors who participated in the process underpinning the project. The influential role played by Naoum Duhany as an Ottoman diplomat and culture broker was not only pivotal in his dealings with the British colonial government but would possibly have extended to the management and implementation of the project.⁴⁰ The other seminal interlocutor was the architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia, who ultimately had the onerous task of translating this neo-Ottoman vision into stone. At this point it would be relevant to trace the development of the architect’s career prior to his being entrusted with the project.

EMANUELE LUIGI GALIZIA AND HIS VISION FOR THE NEW MUSLIM CEMETERY

Emanuele Luigi Galizia was one of the most prolific architects active in Malta during the second half of the nineteenth century. For most of his architectural career he was employed by the Government Public Works Department, although at a later stage he also accepted private commissions. In 1846, when he was sixteen years old, he embarked upon an apprenticeship under the British civil engineer William Lamb Arrowsmith, who was then superintendent of public works in Malta.



Fig. 5. Muslim cemetery, Marsa, Malta, ca. 1880s. (Photo: Richard Ellis, courtesy of the RIBApix Collection)

Following his apprenticeship he quickly rose through the ranks in government service, being appointed architect (*perito*) no. 1 in 1859, chief architect in December 1860, and, in 1880, superintendent of public works, which post he held until 1888.⁴¹ Galizia was involved in work that was wide-ranging and diverse in scope, and included the maintenance of roads, bridges, lighthouses, palaces, hospitals, schools, courts of justice, prisons, markets, granaries, cemeteries, and public buildings.⁴² In 1888, he was admitted as a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was very influential in local affairs and for a time even had a seat on the Executive and Legislative Council of the government.

Galizia's architectural *magnum opus* was undoubtedly the planning of the new Addolorata Cemetery, with its church dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, completed in 1867. This was an extensive extra-mural Catholic cemetery built on a hillside, with the church and entrance buildings designed in a neo-Gothic architectural style.⁴³ This choice of style appears to have gone against the grain, since the vast majority of local Catholic churches were built in a Baroque idiom. Galizia's choice of neo-Gothic could be interpreted as a conscious decision to be *au courant* with the historic revivalist styles prevailing at the time. Politically, it could also be considered a subtle move to appease the sentiments of the British



Fig. 6. Postcard dating to ca. 1900, entitled "Mohomedans Cemetery, Malta." Adjoining the Muslim cemetery is the smaller Jewish cemetery. (Postcard: private collection of Conrad Thake)



Fig. 7. Photograph postcard, dating to the 1930s, of the Muslim cemetery, Marsa, Malta. (Photo: private collection of Conrad Thake)

colonial government, which had a closer cultural affinity for the neo-Gothic than the Roman Baroque. Throughout his architectural career, even when designing other Catholic churches, Galizia never succumbed to the local pressures of adopting the popular Baroque style but always preferred a neo-Gothic or neoclassical style. In this respect, Galizia's architectural philosophy appears to have been relatively insulated from the popular trappings of local Baroque architecture in favor of the historical revivalist styles that prevailed on the European continent. His formative years working under the direction of British civil engineers and architects would have nurtured his interest and preference for these contemporary revivalist styles. Furthermore, his close political and cultural ties with officials of the British colonial government ensured that although Galizia was Maltese, the architect was still very much a product of an Anglo-Maltese culture whose allegiance and loyalty were to the British Crown.

In the absence of a formal architectural education Galizia was given various opportunities to travel extensively on architectural visits. In 1860 and 1862, in preparation for the Addolorata Cemetery project, he embarked upon a grand architectural tour of Italy, France, and England.⁴⁴ His visit to the Cimetière du Nord in Paris proved to be particularly useful as it served as the model for the planning of the Addolorata Cemetery in Malta. However, it does not appear that he travelled further afield before undertaking the commission of the new Muslim cemetery. It was only after the completion of the Muslim cemetery that he visited Cyprus, in 1878 and 1879, to report on the state of the island with a view to establishing a Maltese agricultural settlement there. He also toured Syria and Egypt in 1878, Athens and Constantinople in 1879, and Tunis in 1903.⁴⁵ The later visits certainly do indicate that Galizia had a strong cultural interest in the Near East, but there is no evidence that he travelled to these lands prior to embarking upon his designs for the new Muslim cemetery.

Galizia did, however, have access to material depicting architectural views and urban scenes from Istanbul, such as Count Amadeo Preziosi's 1861 album of chromolithographs titled *Stamboul, Souvenir d'Orient*. Galizia's copy was personally signed by Preziosi and contained a dedication to the architect. The circulation of this album

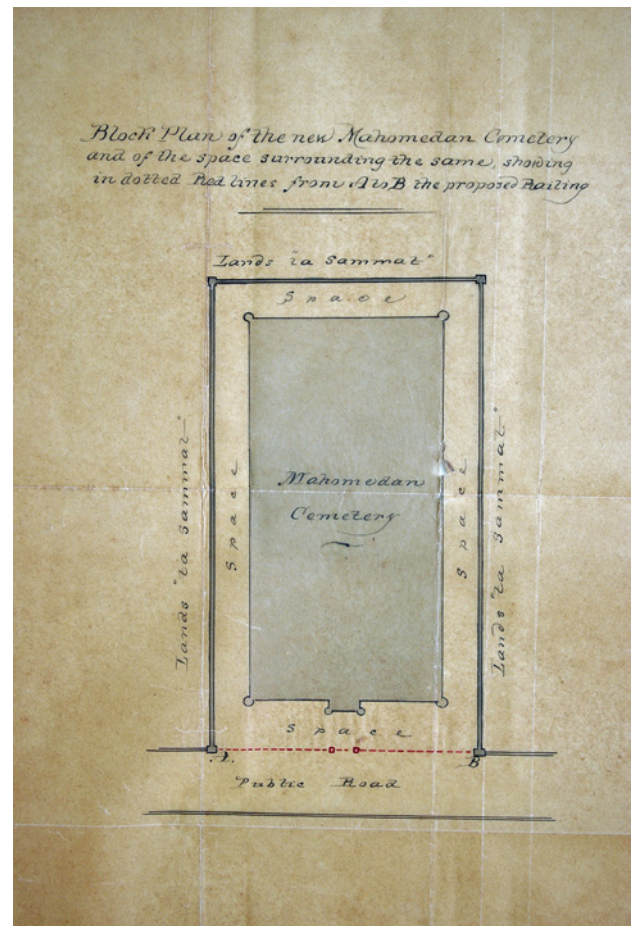


Fig. 8. Plan entitled "Block Plan of the new Mahomedan Cemetery and of the space surrounding the same, showing in dotted Red lines from A to B the proposed Railing." (Plan: courtesy of the National Archives of Malta)

and of similar etchings, lithographs, and prints encouraged a growing appreciation of architecture in distant lands. Through the Office of Public Works, Galizia likely established an extensive network of overseas contacts, with whom he exchanged prints and related material.⁴⁶

In the absence of the direct experience of visiting a building, illustrated books and engravings were an alternative source of influence. As an employee of the Public Works Department, Galizia may very well have consulted Owen Jones's monumental two-volume work on the Alhambra Palace, published in 1842 and 1845,⁴⁷ as well as his other seminal book, *The Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1856, which contains a profusely detailed



Fig. 9. Main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 10. Doorway of the main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

selection of illustrations. These works would have offered Galizia much information on the details and designs on Islamic architecture and decoration, with particular reference to Andalusian architecture of the twelfth to fourteenth century.⁴⁸ Galizia was an avid admirer of the Alhambra Palace complex at Granada, as later evidenced by the summer residence named after it that he built for himself in Sliema, a town on the north-east coast of Malta.⁴⁹ Moreover, in the 1860s and early 1870s, there are several examples of public buildings, particularly synagogues, that were built on the European continent in a Moorish revival style.⁵⁰

The construction of the new Muslim cemetery proved daunting to Galizia. There was no local historical precedent of Muslim architecture to follow. Furthermore,

situated as it was, relatively close to the Addolorata Cemetery, the new Muslim cemetery had to reflect its own distinctive image.⁵¹ For Galizia, the cemetery conjured a highly esoteric, magical, and exotic setting that transcended the physical confines of the traditional local landscape.

In his mind's eye, the new Muslim cemetery would embody a Romantic fantasy of Orientalist imagery (figs. 5–7).⁵² He was certainly firmly inclined to seek a stylistic break from the Baroque and neo-Gothic architectural styles so closely associated with Christianity and Western Europe. By resorting to Orientalism, Galizia could create a mystical and fantastical setting that brought together a wide range of architectural forms, such as horseshoe and ogee arches, bulbous onion domes, and



Fig. 11. Main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

decorative pencil minarets.⁵³ Orientalist European architecture was at times called “Indo-Mughal,” in reference to the architecture of Far Eastern countries and the Indian subcontinent. The term “Moorish” was also very loosely applied, to imply a hybrid style derived from a generic view of Islamic architecture, based primarily on regions of Spain and North Africa under Muslim influence.⁵⁴ Both terms have their shortcomings as they are not sensitive to the rich cultural diversity manifested in Islamic architecture.

Galizia, although prolific in terms of his architectural output, did not indulge in writing about his design concepts and philosophies. If we keep in mind that he was an anglophile architect in the service of the British colonial

government, the most obvious architectural sources of inspiration were likely to be the seventeenth-century Taj Mahal in Agra, India, and John Nash’s design for the Prince Regent’s Royal Pavilion at the seaside resort of Brighton (1815–23).⁵⁵ The Taj Mahal is widely recognized as the finest embodiment of Indo-Mughal architecture and it was perceived as combining elements from Persian, Turkish, and Indian architectural styles.⁵⁶ The way in which the complex incorporates a mausoleum within the setting of an Islamic quadripartite garden must have been particularly appealing to him. Furthermore, one can safely assume that Galizia had ready access to visual images of the Taj Mahal, such as etchings, lithographs, and printed media.

On a conceptual level, Galizia was also inspired to pursue the imagery of a walled-in paradisiacal garden. Traditionally, an Islamic garden is a place of rest and meditation, and a reminder of paradise. Furthermore, the *giardino segreto* or walled-in garden, enclosed and bounded by high masonry walls and set off from the public surroundings, is widely prevalent in the Mediterranean region. With no distracting, external sensory stimuli, it provided an ambience that was conducive to personal introspection and meditation. These qualities are equally appropriate for a cemetery.

REALIZING THE VISION: THE NEW MUSLIM CEMETERY

Construction on the new Muslim cemetery project started in earnest in March 1873, a month after the formal transfer of the land. A detailed series of correspondence reveals how the collector of land revenue and public works, G. B. Trapani, and the chief secretary to government, Victor Houlton, agreed upon all the financial aspects related to the land transfer, after which work must have proceeded at a brisk pace: in September 1873, the Ottoman consul Naoum Duhany requested permission from the local authorities to construct an iron railing that would physically separate the cemetery from the public street.⁵⁷ Permission was granted on condition that all expenses were to be borne by the Ottoman sultanate and that the enclosed open space would remain the property of the local colonial government. A plan



Fig. 12. Upper part of main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 13. Details of stonework on the upper part of the main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 14. Decorative detail of corner of prayer lodge. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 15. Detail of decorative minaret-like structures. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

was approved showing the precise location and alignment of the aforementioned iron railing (fig. 8). The entire project was completed by 1874, in less than two years.

Galizia's plan for the Muslim cemetery at Marsa is based on a well-articulated geometrical design in which the two main physical structures are placed along the central axis at the front and back. The main entrance is the dominant architectural element of the front elevation (fig. 9). Access to the cemetery is through a grand horseshoe-arched doorway flanked by columns and surrounded by multiple decorative stone carvings (fig. 10). Centered over the main portal was the *tughra* (calligraphic monogram) of Sultan Abdülaziz Khan and the date of the cemetery's construction, 1290 (1874). At each

corner of the square-plan kiosk are rounded pilasters that project beyond the decorative stone parapet balcony and emerge as round minaret-like pencil-shaped towers (fig. 11). Unlike the minarets found in mosques, these are solid and purely decorative. Overlying the entrance is a smaller superstructure capped by an onion-shaped dome terminating with the crescent moon as the insignia of the Ottoman sultanate (figs. 12 and 13). At each corner of the rectangular enclosure of the cemetery is an imposing decorative minaret-like tower (figs. 14–16). A combined triple-window screen with intricate arabesque stone relief flanks each side of the entrance kiosk along the front boundary wall (fig. 17). The highly scenographic frontage of the cemetery works its way to a climax at the central entrance, where the crowning bul-



Fig. 16. Detail of decorative minaret-like structures. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 17. The jali screen that forms part of the front boundary wall. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

bous dome looms over the four decorative pinnacles. Photographs taken when the cemetery was completed reveal how impressive the overall appearance was. Today, overgrown trees within the complex, along with new building developments in the background, have diminished the dramatic impact of the cemetery's skyline and detract from the clear articulation of architectural forms as originally expressed. The cemetery fronts a busy thoroughfare and faces the disused Marsa race track, which further diminishes the impression it now makes on an observer.

Once through the entrance, the cemetery is symmetrically divided by a central passageway that leads to the funerary lodge building in the back. The lodge combines two identical rooms at each corner that are connected

by a covered arcade (fig. 18). The arcade has a central arched opening, a hybrid of a horseshoe and ogee arch flanked on each side by narrower horseshoe-arched openings (fig. 19). The two identical rooms at opposing ends have rounded corners that project over the roofline, mutating into vertical pinnacles that terminate in the form of a lotus bud. The roofs of both rooms are capped by identical bulbous domes. In addition to the distinctive onion-shaped domes, horseshoe arches, and minaret-like towers, Galizia embellished parts of the wall surface with elaborate stone carvings of geometric forms inspired by nature. The two rooms within the lodge have specific functions: to the east was the preparatory room for burial according to the Muslim rite, and to the west was the prayer room, where prayers were



Fig. 18. Lodge at the rear of the cemetery, ca. 1880. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)



Fig. 19. The arcade passageway, a central feature of the lodge. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

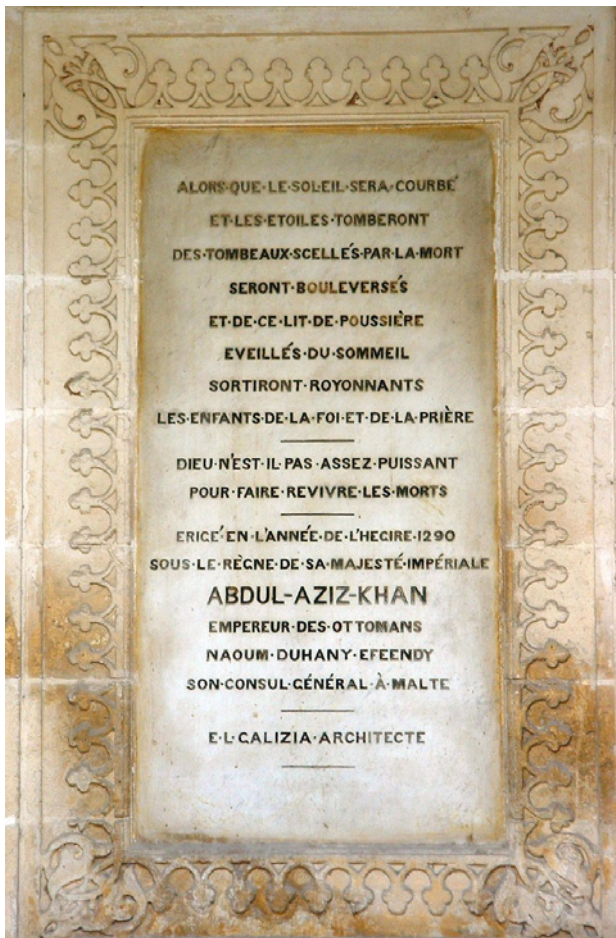


Fig. 20. Marble plaque with decorative stone surround set within the end wall of the lodge, commemorating the foundation of the Muslim cemetery by the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz and the Maltese architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

recited before the actual burial. At the back wall of the arcade, connecting the two back rooms, is a marble plaque set within an arabesque decorative stone frame that forms a horseshoe arch shape in relief (fig. 20). The plaque bears two inscriptions, one in Ottoman and the other in French. The inscription at the top states in one line: *Bu mezârlık hicretiñ 1290 yılında 'Osmanlılarıñ pādīshāhı 'Abdül'Azīz Sultān Hān zamān-ı saltanatında inşā edilmiştir.* (This cemetery was built in the year 1290 [1873–74], during the reign of the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz Khan.)⁵⁸ The French text in a separate lower field reads as follows:⁵⁹

ALORS – QUE – LE – SOLEIL – SERA – COURBÉ⁶⁰
ET – LES – ÉTOILES – TOMBERONT⁶¹
DES – TOMBEAUX – SCELLÉS – PAR – LA – MORT
SERONT – BOULEVERSES⁶²
ET – DE – CE – LIT – DE – POUSSIÈRE
EVEILLÉS – DU – SOMMEIL
SORTIRONT – ROYONNANTS
LES – ENFANTS – DE – LA – FOI – ET – DE – LA – PRIÈRE

DIEU - N'EST - IL - PAS - ASSEZ - PUISSANT
POUR – FAIRE – REVIVRE - LES - MORTS

ÉRIGÉ – EN - L'ANNÉE – DE - L'HÉGIRE – 1290 [1874]
SOUS – LE – RÉGNE – DE – SA – MAJESTÉ – IMPÉRIALE
ABDUL – AZIZ – KHAN
EMPEREUR – DES – OTTOMANS
NAOUM – DUHANY - EFEENDY [*sic*]
SON – CONSUL – GÉNÉRAL – À – MALTE

E. L. GALIZIA – ARCHITECTE

In addition to the Taj Mahal and Alhambra, another source of inspiration closer to home and in the spirit of British Orientalism is John Nash's Royal Pavilion at Brighton. However, the eclectic combination of architectural elements and motifs adopted by Galizia is, in effect, a hybrid of Indo-Muslim and Moorish architecture. Architectural features such as the treatment of the main entrance pavilion, with its cusp-rounded arches flanked by columns, recall elements of Muslim architecture identifiable with the Maghreb region, particularly the Great Mosque at Kairouan and, later, the Alhambra palace complex. These were fused with a few select classical Ottoman elements, mainly in the form of pencil-shaped, multi-galleried minarets and bulbous domes crowned with crescents, which give the cemetery complex its variegated skyline. The propagation of a “neo-Ottoman” architectural style that combined “an eclectic array of Ottoman, Orientalist, and Gothic elements” was avidly promoted by Abdülaziz, both on a theoretical level, as in the *Uşûl*, and in architectural projects in Istanbul such as the Sultan's seaside palace at Çırağan



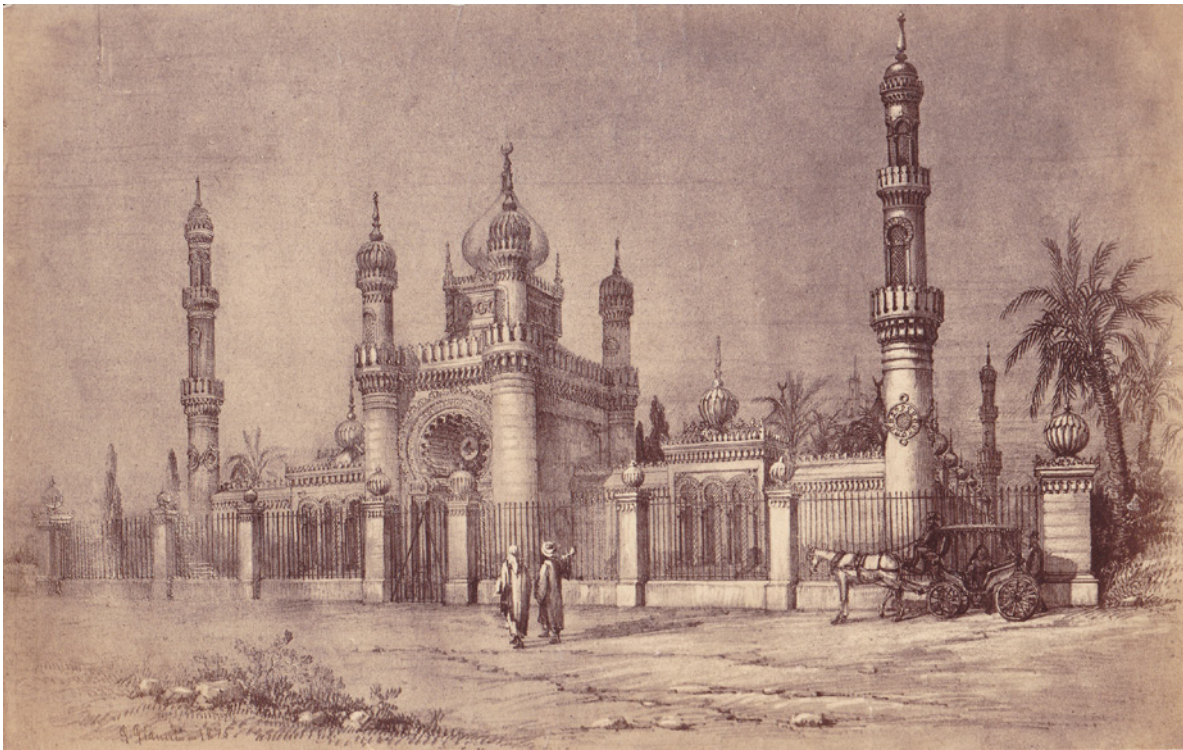
Fig. 21. Girolamo Gianni, "Martyrs' Cemetery in Malta," 1874. Oil painting. Istanbul, Harbiye Military Museum. (Photo: courtesy of the Harbiye Military Museum)

(1864–71) and the Pertveniyal Valide Mosque in Aksaray (1869–71).⁶³ The Çırağan Palace went beyond this combination of Ottoman and Western classical styles, even incorporating an overlay of Moorish elements.

The variegated skyline of minaret towers and bulbous domes, together with the intricate jali screens of window openings and arbaesque surface decoration, all contributes to the creation of a flamboyant building. The intricate geometric surface of incised stonework has a razor-like precision and, combined with multifoil horseshoe-arches, muqarnas, and filigree-like arabesques, is very much indebted to the Alhambra Palace at Granada. The bulbous onion domes and slender minarets can be interpreted as an additional architectural overlay that is overtly Ottoman in terms of representation.

The Neapolitan painter Girolamo Gianni (d. 1895) was commissioned to prepare two drawings and an oil painting of the new Muslim cemetery.⁶⁴ Gianni had first visited Malta in 1867 to evaluate the local art market. Shortly after his visit, he established a *bottega* on the island, selling small souvenir paintings to visitors and undertaking commissioned works of art.⁶⁵ He mainly produced topographically accurate landscapes, streetscapes, and seascapes. Besides depicting scenic views of his hometown, Naples, and Malta, Gianni occasionally ventured further afield and painted views of cities in the Orient. In *Panoramic View of Constantinople, from Beyazit*, signed and dated 1868, the artist depicts a spectacular topographical view of most of Constantinople, highlighting its most iconic landmarks—the Süleymaniye Mosque, the Topkapı Palace, and the

22



23



Figs. 22 and 23. Drawings (22.9 cm × 35.5 cm) of the Muslim cemetery by the Neapolitan artist Girolamo Gianni (1837–95). (Drawings: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)



Fig. 24. The medal of the Order of Mecidiye (fourth class), bestowed upon Galizia by the Ottoman sultan, probably during the sultan's short visit to Malta on June 26, 1867. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)

Haghia Sophia.⁶⁶ The two drawings of the Muslim cemetery in Malta are signed and dated 1875. Although they depict a high level of architectural detail, they appear to have been preparatory studies for the oil painting titled *Martyrs' Cemetery in Malta*, which now forms part of the fine arts collection of the Harbiye Military Museum in Istanbul (fig. 21).⁶⁷

In the first pencil drawing, an external frontal view of the cemetery (fig. 22), two persons in traditional Arab attire are seen walking towards the entrance along the uneven dirt road leading to the cemetery. To the right one sees a horse-drawn carriage with a seated lady along the graveyard fence. The second drawing highlights the prayer lodge behind the cemetery (fig. 23).⁶⁸ The façade of the lodge is recorded in its minutest architectural detail. A man and woman in traditional Middle Eastern attire walk along the central passage way towards the lodge, while another couple is situated at the top right-hand corner, the figure on the left with arm outstretched seemingly extolling the architectural virtues of the building. The foreground depicts a grave in the process of being dug, while other covered graves have low headstones capped by turbans and the fez. Vegetation in the cemetery is sparse except for a row of exotic



Fig. 25. Photograph of a gathering of dignitaries with the Bey of Tunis, in an unidentified location in Tunis in July 1903. Galizia is standing third from left with hat in hand. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)



Fig. 26. Photograph of dignitaries standing on the external staircase of the residence of the British consul-general at La Marsa, Tunis, July 1903. Galizia is standing halfway up the staircase, wearing a black top hat. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)

palm trees neatly planted along one of the boundary walls of the cemetery. It appears that these two drawings were commissioned shortly after the cemetery was completed and the viewpoints in both maximize the architectural merits of the complex. It is quite possible that these drawings were commissioned by Galizia himself, to be forwarded as lithographs to the sultan.

The Ottoman sultan bestowed on Galizia the Order of the Mecidiye (*Mecidiye Nişanı*) (fourth class) (fig. 24).⁶⁹ When this honor was conferred is still unclear,



Fig. 27. Mummified hand with lapis lazuli bracelet around wrist, on crimson velvet and displayed within a box with glass panel. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)

though it has been suggested that the ceremony may have taken place during the sultan's brief visit to Malta in June 1867. Galizia also visited Tunis, in the summer of 1903, where he was one of the recipients of an honor bestowed probably by the Bey of Tunis. Contemporary photographs show Galizia and others dressed in formal attire, in the presence of the Bey (figs. 25 and 26). It is very unlikely, however, that he received the Mecidiye honor as late as 1903, as more than twenty-five years would have elapsed since the completion of the Muslim cemetery. This scenario is even more improbable when one considers the changing political situation. The Bey of Tunis, who was historically a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, only acted in this capacity until 1881, when the Ottoman era in Tunisia came to an end and the country became a French protectorate.⁷⁰ Given the Muslim cemetery's secondary historic connections with the Re-

gency of Tunis (mentioned earlier), it could well be that the Bey of Tunis bestowed upon Galizia another honor distinct from that of the Order of Mecidiye.⁷¹

Galizia also acquired an unusual gift, a small wooden box with a glass cover containing the mummified hand of a young female, allegedly that of an ancient Egyptian princess (fig. 27).⁷² The donation of such exotic (and morbid) gifts by influential patrons in recognition of services well rendered was popular during the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, various superstitions and myths alluding to mystical spells emanating from these artifacts are purely the product of nineteenth-century Western literary sources, fuelled by cultural misrepresentations of the Orient.⁷³

THE OTTOMAN CEMETERY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The cemetery was repaired and restored between March 1919 and October 1920, on the initiative of Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey, one of the Ottoman officers interned by the British in Malta after the end of the First World War.⁷⁴ A monument was erected by him to commemorate all the Ottoman soldiers who had died in Malta as prisoners of war during the First World War and were buried in the cemetery,⁷⁵ their names inscribed on the marble plaques of the octagonal base (fig. 28).⁷⁶ The restoration was undertaken after the 1918 Armistice of Moudros, at a time when several Turkish nationalists,⁷⁷ including five parliamentary deputies, had been exiled by the British authorities to Malta.⁷⁸ Most of these were leading political figures, high-ranking soldiers and intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire, such as Ziya Gökalp (d. 1924), an eminent sociologist, writer, poet, and intellectual of the nationalist movement, whose personal memoirs relating to his detention in Malta were recorded in *Limni ve Malta Mektupları*, published after his death.⁷⁹ In the absence of a mosque, the detainees were permitted to attend Friday prayers at the new Muslim cemetery.⁸⁰

Following the abolition of the sultanate and his expulsion from Constantinople, the last Ottoman sultan, Mehmed VI (r. 1918–22), briefly stayed in Malta in 1922 before proceeding to Mecca and eventually taking up residence in San Remo.⁸¹ He regularly visited a garden



Fig. 28. Monument erected in 1919–20 on the initiative of Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey, Commander of the Muslim Warriors in Malta, to commemorate all those buried in the cemetery who died in World War I. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

along the fortifications of Valletta that is known to this day as *Ġnien is-Sultan* (Sultan's Garden). In March 1928, Chevalier F. K. Gollcher, in his capacity as the Turkish general consul, visited the cemetery and noted that there were 103 unidentified Muslims buried there. He made specific reference to the burial sites of twenty-three Muslims, mainly Moroccans, who had perished in the sinking of the passenger ship *SS Sardinia*, just off the Grand Harbour, in November 1908.⁸² Also buried at the cemetery were at least nine soldiers belonging to the 2nd Regiment of the Algerian Infantry who perished at sea on September 22, 1939, at the onset of the Second World War.

The Muslims buried in the cemetery came from Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Somalia, and Turkey, as well as the more distant lands of Burma, India, Indonesia, and French Polynesia. They were mostly members of the military corps and navy personnel, or prisoners of war who died while detained in Malta. The cemetery continued to be used for burials of Muslims until the establishment, in 2007, of a new cemetery, officially designated "The Malta Islamic Cemetery," on a parcel of land in Corradino, adjoining the modern mosque and Islamic center that were built in the 1970s. Before the mosque was built, the Ottoman cemetery was also used for weekly Friday prayers.⁸³

ORIENTALIST ARCHITECTURE IN MALTA

Galizia's Muslim cemetery was the first architectural manifestation in Malta of the exotic Orientalist style. His consummate skill in borrowing and assimilating traditional elements from both Andalusian and Ottoman architecture produced a distinctive representation of Islam and the Orient. To the Maltese, whose collective historical memory was dominated by the Ottomans' repeated attacks on the island in the name of Islam, the cemetery was a solitary nineteenth-century symbol of neo-Ottoman and Muslim resurgence.

To date, no records have been found that provide us with the names of the masons and stone carvers who worked on the cemetery's construction. The many decorative carvings in local globigerina stone on the various building components are testimony to the exquisiteness of local craftsmanship. There is no reason to believe

that this could have been the work of foreign builders, as local craftsmanship in stone was of the highest level, and exalted and marketed abroad. A decade later, at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London in 1886, Galizia, in his official capacity as superintendent of public works, was appointed chairman of the Maltese exhibition committee.⁸⁴ The entrance to the Maltese Pavilion was specially constructed of local limestone and carved by local artisans working under Galizia's supervision.⁸⁵ The stone blocks of the gateway were individually numbered, crated, and shipped to England. On exhibit in the Maltese Pavilion were the traditional crafts of stoneware, lace, and jewelry, and Galizia arranged a varied display of local craftsmen's stone carvings, including decorative stone balustrades, capitals, columns, and finials, in order to promote Maltese masonry and increase exports to Britain and the Continent (fig. 29).⁸⁶



Fig. 29. Display of an example of ornamental stonework by Maltese craftsmen at the Indo-Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886. (Photo: courtesy of the Richard Ellis Archive—Malta)



Fig. 30. Ensemble of three terraced houses named Alcazar, Pax, and Alhambra on Rudolph Street, Sliema, all designed by E. L. Galizia. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

A few years after the Muslim cemetery was completed, Galizia constructed a series of three terraced houses in the Orientalist Indo-Mughal style. Built between 1876 and 1878 and named Alcazar, Pax, and Alhambra, they were situated on Rudolph Street in Sliema, in what was then a rural countryside setting commanding scenic views over Marsamxett Harbour (fig. 30). The Alhambra was designed as his own family summer residence, and the ornate decorative treatment of the façade is directly indebted to the Ottoman Muslim cemetery. Oriental-style architecture in Malta never quite established itself. It was perceived as a hybrid and alien style exclusively associated with the British affluent classes and having no affinity with the local artistic milieu, which favored the Baroque and neoclassical styles. Galizia's trio of houses in Sliema would mark the definitive end of the short-lived Oriental style in Malta.

The contemporary writer and artist T. M. P. Duggan has described Galizia's cemetery as "the Ottoman Taj Mahal." It is "the least known and certainly today the most important surviving nineteenth-century Ottoman building to have been built beyond the borders of the Ottoman Sultanate, in the new Ottoman Islamic style. This building is an architectural statement of great beau-

ty, and also of boldness and authority."⁸⁷ Duggan argues that this new Ottoman style was directly related to the "increasing stress laid by Ottoman rulers in the second half of the nineteenth century on their Caliphal title, stressing their leadership of the Sunni Muslim community worldwide, and thus, through the employment of this architectural style ... their international commitment to the wider Islamic community."⁸⁸ This statement assumes even greater political significance when one considers that Abdülaziz's new Muslim cemetery was built in Malta, a British colony and a bulwark of British imperial power along the main sea trade routes in the Mediterranean. The cemetery represented an alternative set of values and beliefs in sharp contraposition to the architectural imagery associated with the British colonial authorities in Malta. This manifestation of Ottoman revivalism can be interpreted as the fulfillment of "an aspiration to claim a place for Ottoman architecture among the 'modern styles' or revivals of the nineteenth century."⁸⁹ Galizia's new Muslim cemetery was intended as an idealized representation of the Orient and Islam in Malta. In the words of Zeynep Çelik, a "generic domed Ottoman mosque with pencil minarets" encompasses a wider vision whereby "indeed the power

of this image is such that it represents not only Turkey but the entire world of Islam.”⁹⁰ Ultimately, it was an architectural microcosm of the Islamic world as envisioned and perceived by a talented architect working in relative isolation in Malta, a small British colonial island at the southernmost boundary of Western Europe.

This case study highlights the intricate cross-cultural networks and dynamics of patronage that characterize Orientalism in a peripheral location far removed from the traditional center from which it emanated. The narrative of Galizia’s cemetery demonstrates that Orientalism was not a closed and binary system, but rather a permeable and open-ended paradigm of artistic representation.

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NOTES

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1. Anthony T. Luttrell, *Approaches to Medieval Malta* (London: The British School at Rome, 1975), 26–31.
2. The academic debate on the local state of affairs in Malta during the Arab period in the late ninth to eleventh century has been highly charged, with two entrenched diametrically-opposed positions being postulated. Academic writings on this controversial debate have intensified during the past decade. Some of the more seminal contributions are: Charles Dalli, “Medieval Island Societies: Reassessing Insulation in a Central Mediterranean Context,” *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 10 (1998): 73–82; and Godfrey Wettinger, “Malta in the High Middle Ages,” *Melita Historica* 15, 4 (2011): 367–90.
3. Neville Juan Cardona, “The Saracenic Cemetery on the Site of the Roman Domus, Rabat (Malta): An Analysis of the Archaeological Evidence” (BA [Hons.] thesis, Departments of Classics and Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2002); Suzannah Depasquale and Neville Juan Cardona, *The Domus Romana, Rabat Malta* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2005).
4. Cardona, “Saracenic Cemetery,” 83–85, as cited in Depasquale and Cardona, *Domus Romana*, 5. Ornamentation of the corpse in Islamic burial is very rare. During the excavations of the Islamic cemetery, the only significant possession that was discovered was a solid silver ring with the Kufic inscription *Rabbī Allāh Waḥīd* (God alone is my Lord), an invocation derived from the Koran. Sir Themistocles Zammit, who directed the excavations in 1920–25, recorded the following entry in his field notes: “a silver ring was found on the second finger of the right hand of the skeleton laid in a well-made grave. The ring is plain with a broad face on which an inscription in Kufic characters is cut.” Zammit’s archaeological field notebook no. 6, 1921/24, 21, National Archives of Malta.
5. Recent roadwork excavations in Marsa have revealed the remains of the Muslim cemetery dating back to 1675, confirming the existence of a Turkish slave cemetery in the area. The human remains are oriented southeastward, facing Mecca. As is customary in a Muslim burial place, those laid to rest appear to have been buried with no accompanying relics or artifacts. An alternative hypothesis has been advanced that the remains could be part of an ad-hoc cemetery established by the Ottomans during the Great Siege of 1565 near their base camp in Marsa. However, archaeologists working on the excavation have deemed this highly unlikely, since the orderly arrangement and careful spacing of the remains were not characteristic of a war camp cemetery. See the report by Bertrand Borg, “Workmen Discover a Muslim Cemetery,” in *The Times of Malta*, February 11, 2012.
6. Map as per pl. 72, reproduced in Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo, ca. 1000–1812* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 2002), 448. Also, “Petition to the Grand Master of the Cadi and the Chief-rower of the *Capitana* and All the Slaves of the Order,” and decree of the Grandmaster’s auditor, A.O.M 484, fol. 267v, cited in Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*, 444n19.
7. File 121, “Cemeteries in the Valletta District” (drawing 1b, Chief Draftsman Office [CDO], Public Works Department, Floriana), cited in Mario Borg, “The Addolorata Cemetery: A Study of a Select Number of Funerary Chapels of the Late Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century” (BA [Hons.] thesis, Department of History of Art, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 1998). Although slavery in Malta was abolished with Napoleon’s arrival in 1800, the cemetery continued to be used as a Muslim burial place until

- the mid-nineteenth century. See Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*.
8. *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette*, July 12, 1873, p. 2.
 9. In the contractual deed for the new Muslim cemetery Antonio Naoum Duhany is referred to as the son of the late Michele Duhany from Constantinople. He was appointed Ottoman consul to Malta in October 1863. For biographical references to some members of the Duhani (contemporary spelling) family, see Suzan Said Naoum Duhani, *Vieilles gens, vieilles demeures: Topographie sociale de Beyoğlu au XIXème siècle* (Istanbul: Éditions du Touring et automobile club de Turquie, 1947). The entry for the Ottoman consul for the British colony of Malta is listed as "Malte–Naoum Duhany-effendi," in *Almanach de Gotha, Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l'année 1867*, 595.
 10. CSG 04/37, 1865–66, no. 2206, letter dated August 30, 1865, from Victor Houlton, chief secretary of state, to Naoum Duhany, Ottoman consul. National Archives of Malta, Rabat, Malta.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid. The tripartite arrangement of this diplomatic post could be explained vis-à-vis the limited financial and human resources of a small island state such as Malta. The appointed consul combined diplomatic relations with three Muslim states, two in the Maghreb region and one in the East, that together had extensive commercial links with the British island colony. The Regency of Tunisia was until 1881 an autonomous province under the rule of the Ottomans and hence, on a political level it was naturally coupled with the Ottoman Porte. The Empire of Morocco represented a different scenario since during the nineteenth century, under the rule of the Alaouite dynasty, it remained fully independent, until 1912 when, following the Treaty of Fez, Morocco was effectively divided into a French and Spanish protectorate. See Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
 13. Notarial Archives, Valletta, Acts of Notary Francesco Saverio Camilleri, file no. 74, 573–83.
A full transcript of the contractual deed in Italian was reproduced in Vincenza Grassi, "The Turkish Cemetery at Marsa on Malta Island: Historical Background, Topography and Tombstones Features," *Studi Magrebini*, n.s., 2 (2004): attachment no. 1, 188–94.
 14. Ibid.
 15. Report of the Chief Secretary General (CSG) on Legal Government Notice (LGO) no. 11271, dated October 16, 1871, National Archives of Malta. The report includes the memorandum, which provides detailed information pertaining to the transfer of the land, land valuations, and rents for different land leases. This memorandum was preparatory work for the eventual execution of a contract dated June 11, 1873. See Deed 573, registered by Notary F. Camilleri, Notarial Archives, Valletta.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Letter dated April 30, 1873, from Lorenzo Farrugia, Tunisian consul, to Victor Houlton, chief secretary of state, consular no. 2086, n. 462, in Acts of Notary Francesco Saverio Camilleri, file no. 74, p. 582. Transcript of letter cited in Grassi, "Turkish Cemetery at Marsa," 192.
 18. Besides the Muslim cemetery and the Addolorata Cemetery attached to the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows (1867), Galizia also designed the Protestant cemetery at Ta' Braxia (1855). Other works include the Carmelite Church, Balluta Bay (1871; later demolished and rebuilt according to a different design); the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Mgarr, Gozo (1888); the Bugeja Technical Institute at Hamrun (1880); the Victoria Gate, Valletta (1884); and the trio of Oriental-style residential houses on Rudolph Street, Sliema. Biographical entry in Leonard Mahoney, *5000 Years of Architecture in Malta* (Malta: Valletta Publishing, 1996), 316–17. See also Conrad Thake, "Emanuele Luigi Galizia (1830–1907), Architect of the Romantic Movement," *The Treasures of Malta* 6, 3 (Summer 2000): 37–42.
 19. Joseph Galizia was in regular correspondence with his architect brother Emanuele Luigi, and periodically indulged his brother's family with small gifts such as Turkish sweets and other delicacies. Personal email communication, dated August 24, 2013, with Robert Galea.
 20. Following his artistic education in Paris, Amadeo Preziosi (d. 1882) permanently moved to Constantinople around 1840–41, establishing his studio in the Pera district. It soon became a popular site for travelers and dignitaries such as Edward VII (then Prince of Wales). Preziosi became one of the most celebrated watercolorists of the nineteenth century, depicting topographical and street scenes of Constantinople and Cairo. He reproduced several of these in the form of chromolithograph albums titled *Stamboul: Recollections of Eastern Life* (Paris, 1858), reedited and printed as *Stamboul, Souvenir d'Orient* (1861) and *Souvenir de Caire* (1862). The contemporary French art critic Victor Champier praised Preziosi, stating that among the painters of the Bosphorus he was "the only one who gave life to the secrets of colour of the skyline of Istanbul." Briony Llewellyn and Charles Newton, *The People and Places of Constantinople: Watercolours by Amadeo Count Preziosi, 1816–1882* (London, 1985). This is a catalogue of the Preziosi exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
 21. The son of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–39), Abdülaziz succeeded his brother Abdülmecid I in 1861. He was born in Constantinople and received an Ottoman education, but was a keen admirer of Western European culture. He was interested in literature and was also a composer of classical music. E. Z. Karal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden, 1954–2005), s.v. "Abd al-'Aziz."
 22. The sultan's visit to Europe was widely reported in the Western European print media. The local newspaper *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette*, no. 2065, June 15,

- 1867, reproduced a report on the sultan's visit to Europe that appeared in the *Levant Herald* on May 29, 1867. The report stated that the sultan would be traveling on the imperial yacht *Sultanieh*, and would be accompanied on his voyage from Constantinople to Toulon by, among others, the ironclad frigate *Sultan Mahmoud*. However, there was no mention in the local media of the sultan's brief visit to Malta.
23. Consular no. 159, National Archives of Malta: 28/5/1867 Consul General Constantinople Sultan – Acknowledgement and receipt of telegram Relative to the departure of British Consulate General Constantinople 28 May 1867
Your telegram of the 24th reached me early on the following morning and I immediately communicated its purpose to Her Majesty's Ambassador who yesterday replied to me that he would take care to inform the Authorities at Malta of anything relative to the Sultan's movements which it may concern them to know.—It is as yet uncertain I believe on what date the Sultan will embark from this to Marseilles, although it is rumoured in official quarters that His Imperial Majesty intends to leave on the 27th proximo.
I have the honour to be
Sir, your humble servant
With great respect
[signed] Victor Houlton
 24. Consular no. 174, D/C 4/6/67 Consul Tripoli, National Archives of Malta. According to the correspondence, the Ottoman steamer *Nautilus el Gharb* set sail from the port of Tripoli to Malta on June 1, 1867, with Mahmud Pasha, governor-general of the Regency on board, on his way to Constantinople; it was also stated that the pasha intended to spend a few days in Malta. The letter from the Ottoman consul to the chief secretary of state Victor Houlton refers to how the pasha should be received at Constantinople so as best to consolidate the good diplomatic relations that existed between the Ottoman and British authorities. The *Levant Herald* of July 3, 1867, reported that "Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, formerly Governor of Tripoly in Barbary had been appointed a member of the Grand Council of Justice." This announcement was also cited in *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette* of July 11, 1867.
 25. Sultan Abdülaziz established a council of state, as well as a university open to both Muslims and Christians, and published the first installment of a code of civil law. However, these initiatives met strong opposition from conservative Turks. One of his most notable achievements was the modernization of the Ottoman navy: "by 1875, the navy comprised 21 battleships and 173 warships, making it the third largest in the world after the British and French fleets."; <http://www.paralumun.com/ottomanmil.htm>. Although he continued with his policies to modernize Turkey, the later years of his reign were marked by political turmoil. The sultan's unbridled expenditures and considerable debts, together with the crop failure of 1873, generated considerable public dissent. Abdülaziz was deposed on May 30, 1876 in a coup instigated by his ministers. His death a few days later at Feriye palace, Istanbul, was attributed to suicide. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abdulaziz-Ottoman-sultan>, accessed on July, 16, 2016. For an analysis of economic and political developments of the late Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, see Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); M. Sükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
 26. The word "Tanzimat" means "reordering." It relates "to the period of intense modernization in the Ottoman Empire that was officially inaugurated by the declaration of the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber in 1839. The period is generally considered to have ended with the enthronement of Abdülhamid II and the adoption of the short-lived Ottoman constitution of 1876." Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," in "Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum,'" ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 134n1.
 27. For a critical overview and analysis of the text, see Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).
 28. Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," 119.
 29. On Parvillée, see Beatrice St. Laurent, "Léon Parvillée: His Role as Restorer of Bursa's Monuments and His Contribution to the Exposition Universelle of 1867," in *L'Empire ottomane, la république de Turquie et la France*, ed. Hâmit Batu and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont (Istanbul: Isis, 1986): 247–82, cited in Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," 139n53, pp. 117–39.
 30. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 97. For the impact of Italian architects on urban interventions in nineteenth-century Istanbul, see Zeynep Çelik, "The Italian Contribution to the Remaking of Istanbul," in "Amate Sponde: Presence of Italy in the Architecture of the Islamic Mediterranean," special issue, *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 9–10 (Rome: Carucci, 1990): 128–33.
 31. During his historic tour of France and Britain in 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz visited the Ottoman section of the Parisian Exposition universelle, where ceramics, textiles, and buildings in the new Ottoman Islamic style were attracting crowds. The buildings were designed by Léon Parvillée, who had worked on the restoration of the buildings of Bursa following the earthquake of 1855, and reinterpreted

- the Green Mosque of Bursa (built 1415–19) and the Çinili Koşk (Tiled Kiosk) of Istanbul (1472), with additional detailing from other parts of the Islamic world, adding a touch of the Alhambra to the pavilions. See St. Laurent, “Léon Parvillée: His Role as Restorer,” 247–82.
32. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (Seattle, 2001), 27. The first chapter, titled “The Legacy of the Ottoman Revivalism,” highlights various approaches in the architectural production of the time and argues that this movement heralded the advent of modernism.
 33. The Italian architect Giovanni Battista Barborini and his French assistant Léon Parvillée were in charge of the Ottoman Pavilion in the Parisian Exposition universelle of 1867. See “The Paris Exhibition of 1867,” in *The Levant Herald*, January 10, 1867; and Victor Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mi'mâri-i 'Osmanî* (Istanbul, 1873).
 34. The currents of westernization in Ottoman culture as manifested in architectural developments can be traced to the eighteenth century. For example, the Ottoman Baroque is one aspect of architectural and material culture that demonstrated the Ottoman response to Western Europe. Ali Uzay Peker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, 3 (Fall 2002): 139–63. See also Ayşe Nasir, “Concept of Westernization and the Role of Foreign Architects in 19th century Ottoman Architecture”: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/note68.htm>, accessed February 26, 2015. See also Maurizio Boriani, “Between Westernization and Orientalism: Italian Architects and Restorers in Istanbul from the 19th Century to the Beginning of the 20th” in *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 57, 3 (2012): 5–35.
 35. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 139–44.
 36. Michael Ellul, “Malta Limestone Goes to Europe: Use of Malta Stone outside Malta,” in *60th Anniversary of The Malta Historical Society: A Commemoration* (Malta: The Malta Historical Society, 2010), 377. Ellul cites personal correspondence with Çelik Gülersoy (d. 2003) stating that “the appendage attached to this pavilion is due to the use of stone from Malta in its entrance lobby and the low parapet wall which surrounds the building at its highest level.” See also Çelik Gülersoy, *Yıldız Parkı ve Malta Köşkü = Yıldız Parc and Malta Pavilion* (Istanbul: TTOK Yayınları, 1983). The history of the construction of the Malta Kiosk requires further investigation and analysis with a view to elucidating the cross-cultural links between Malta under British colonial rule and the Ottoman sultanate during the late nineteenth century.
- Extensive amounts of Malta limestone were also imported to Istanbul for the construction there of the Christ Church, also known as the Crimea Memorial Church (1858–68), by the architect George Edmund Street (d. 1881). This Protestant church was built in memory of British soldiers who died in the Crimean War. Ellul, “Malta Limestone Goes to Europe,” 398–99. The export of Maltese limestone continued during the first half of the twentieth century, with Greece and Italy the primary destinations. For the period 1909–1915, it is estimated that 679 tons of Malta stone were imported to Turkey. Ellul, “Malta Limestone Goes to Europe,” 406.
37. I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for posing these important questions.
 38. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, eds., *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 4.
 39. Regarding this cultural reversal in Orientalist discourse, see the introductory essay in *ibid.*, 1–18.
 40. Official correspondence in the local archives relates only to Duhany's role in the transfer of land and the contract for the establishment and ownership of the new cemetery. I have found no local documents that shed light on Duhany's role, if any, in consultations with the architect or in management of the project. Research in the Ottoman archives could reveal other aspects of Duhany's involvement, if any, in the project.
 41. The main milestones in E. L. Galizia's architectural career, along with a comprehensive listing of all the projects and buildings he was involved in between 1859 and 1886, are recorded in his own handwritten application to be admitted as a fellow to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). The application was signed and submitted by Galizia in June 1887, and approved by the RIBA Council on October 10, 1887; he was formally elected as a fellow on January 23, 1888. See application by E. L. Galizia, in *Records of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (London, 1888).
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Borg, “Addolorata Cemetery,” 48–53.
 44. See n. 41 above regarding the RIBA application.
 45. Report drawn up by G. C. Schinas and E. L. Galizia, *Island of Cyprus: Report to H.E. the Governor of Malta* (Malta: Government Printing Press, 1879). The dates of E. L. Galizia's overseas travels are listed in the RIBA application, cited in n. 41.
 46. The correspondence between Galizia and the London-based architect Arthur S. Flower (d. 1936) is particularly revealing. In a letter dated December 20, 1894, Flower mentions having sent Galizia “a little etching of Old Temple Bar (the last of the London Gates; removed in 1878), as it may interest you....” Galizia, in a letter dated December 28, 1894, reciprocated by sending Flower “a small memento of the gate of Fort Manoel.” I am indebted to Francis Galea Naudi for permitting me to view these letters.
 47. Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra: From Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 by Jules Goury, and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), 1. For the Alhambra Court exhibit at the Great Exhibition of 1851 at Crystal Palace, London, see M. Digby Wyatt, J. B. Waring, and Owen Jones, *The Medieval Court in the Crystal Palace: The Byzantine and Romanesque Court in Crystal Palace* (London: Crystal Palace Library, 1854).

48. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament* (London, 1856).
49. Galizia's personal library contains a general photo-book entitled *La Spagna*, signed and dated 1892. Personal communication with Robert Galea (January 28, 2015).
50. Notable examples of mid-nineteenth-century synagogues built in Europe in the Moorish Revival style include: the Dohány Street Synagogue in Budapest (1854–59); the Cetate Neologue Synagogue in Timișoara, Romania (1864–65); the Zagreb Synagogue (1867); the Great Synagogue of Stockholm (1867–70); the Spanish Synagogue, Prague (1868); the Rumbach Street Synagogue in Budapest (1872); and the Great Synagogue in Chernivitsi (1873). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moorish_Revival_architecture#Europe, accessed on December 26, 2015.
51. Information relating to the architectural history of the Muslim cemetery at Marsa is sparse. See Mahoney, *5000 Years of Architecture in Malta*, 236. More detailed information is available in Emily Magro, "The Muslim and Jewish Cemeteries at Marsa" (BA [Hons.] thesis, Department of History of Art, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2004); Konrad Buhagiar, "Romanticism in the 19th Century: A History of Neo-Gothic in Malta" (BE&A [Hons.] thesis, Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering, University of Malta, 1982).
52. David Blayney Brown, *Romanticism* (London: Phaidon Press, 2001), 270–74.
53. Ahmet Ersoy, "Osman Hamdi Bey and the Historiophile Mood: Orientalist Vision and the Romantic Sense of the Past in Late Ottoman Culture," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi; Seattle: distributed by University of Washington Press, 2011).
54. Miles Danby, *Moorish Style* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995); John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (London, 1988); Oleg Grabar, *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, ed. George Michell (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995).
55. Jill Lever, Margaret Richardson, and John Harris, *Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (New York: The Drawing Center, 1983), 83–86; Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979).
56. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006); Ebba Koch, "Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan, 1526–1648," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 143–65.
57. Letter from Ottoman consul Naoum Duhany, dated September 16, 1873, requesting permission to construct a wall with an iron railing that would separate the cemetery from the road. Permission was granted two days later in a letter signed by G. B. Trapani, collector of land revenue. The iron railing was to be erected on the line colored red and marked AB on a plan attached to the letter. PW 75, 1872–1873, no. 2968, fol. 197v, 198; Gov 2/1/70, July 19, 1873, National Archives of Malta.
58. Arne A. Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95 (2005): 7–17, at 10.
59. A translation of the original French text of the inscription on the plaque:

AS THE SUN WILL SET
AND THE STARS WILL FALL,
TOMBS SEALED BY DEATH
WILL BE DISTURBED
AND FROM THIS BED OF DUST
AWAKENED FROM SLEEP
THEY WILL EMERGE RADIANT
THE CHILDREN OF THE FAITH AND OF PRAYER.

IS NOT GOD MIGHTY ENOUGH TO REVIVE THE DEAD?

ERECTED IN THE YEAR 1290 FROM THE HEGIRA
DURING THE REIGN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
ABDUL-AZIZ-KHAN
EMPEROR OF THE OTTOMANS
NAOUM DUHANY EFEENDY [*sic*]
HIS CONSUL GENERAL TO MALTA

E. L. GALIZIA ARCHITECT
60. Koran, 81:1, cited in Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10n5.
61. Koran, 81:2, cited in Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10n6.
62. Koran, 82:4, cited in Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10n7.
63. Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," 117–39; Ahmet Ersoy, "Ottoman Gothic: Evocations of the Medieval Past in Late Ottoman Architecture," in *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 217–38.
64. The two drawings are in a local private collection. I am indebted to the architect Prof. Richard England and Mr. Robert Galea for bringing these drawings to my attention. For further information regarding Girolamo Gianni's career, see *Girolamo Gianni in Malta*, ed. Giovanni Bonello, exh. cat. (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 1994).
65. Girolamo Gianni established his studio at 68D, Strada Reale, a prime location situated along the main street of Valletta. By 1872, just as work was about to commence on the new Muslim cemetery, Galizia had already availed himself of Gianni's professional services. An invoice on the artist's letterhead and dated October 28, 1872, was issued to Galizia for two landscape paintings, one depicting San Pawl tat-Tarġa and the other St. Paul's Bay, and several frames. I am grateful to Robert Galea for bringing this to my attention and providing me with a digital copy of the invoice.

66. The oil painting, 206 cm × 72 cm, is signed by Girolamo Gianni and dated 1868. Part of an auction at Sotheby's in London ("19th-Century European Paintings: Including German, Austrian and Central European Paintings, the Orientalist Sale and Spanish Painting," held on May 18, 2011), it sold for £163,250.
67. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for alerting me to the existence of this painting in the collection of the Harbiye Military Museum, Istanbul. The oil painting *Turkish Martyrs' Cemetery in Malta* was recently displayed in the exhibition "1001 Faces of Orientalism," held April 25, 2013, through August 11, 2013, at the Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Istanbul. The oval-shaped painting, signed by Girolamo Gianni and dated 1874, does not depict a fence separating the front garden from the main street. It is possible that the fence had not yet been built in 1874. The fence does, however, appear in a very similar painting, also signed by Gianni and dated 1875, in a local private collection. The 1875 painting is reproduced in Bonello, *Girolamo Gianni in Malta*, catalogue entry no. 56, p. 66.
68. In Girolamo Gianni's drawing one notes the absence of the small water fountain in front of the prayer lodge. Most probably the fountain was not part of Galizia's original project and was only introduced during the renovation works undertaken by Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey in 1919–20.
69. This military and knightly order of the Ottoman Empire, instituted in 1851, was awarded in five classes, with the first (and highest) through fourth designated as "gold," and the fifth (and lowest) as "silver." This honor was often conferred on non-Turkish nationals, usually officers, but also, in a lower class, a few enlisted men. For example, Sultan Abdülmecid I thus recognized members of the British and French armies, and the British navy, for their distinguished service to the empire during the Crimean War; during World War I, the Order of the Mecidiye was awarded to a number of German and Austrian officers.
The design of the order is such that on the obverse of the star is Sultan Abdumecid's royal cipher, surrounded by an inscription on a gold-bordered circle of red enamel; this is all on a star of seven triple quills with small crescents and five-pointed stars between them, suspended from a red enameled crescent and star suspender with green enameled edges. Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004).
70. Ottoman rule of Tunisia lasted from 1574 to 1881, during which period Tunisia became an autonomous province administered by the local bey. Until 1881, the Bey of Tunis was technically a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, although the Ottomans were not always able to count on his unconditional obedience. The Husaynid Dynasty of Beys effectively ruled Tunisia as sovereigns from 1705 to 1881. With the end of the Ottoman era and the establishment of the French protectorate over Tunisia, the role of the Bey of Tunis became mainly ceremonial.
71. Figure 25 shows Galizia (third from the left) holding his hat in his hand. At the time of the photograph he would have been seventy-three years old. The rural setting is in sharp contrast to the grand palatial staircase setting of the other photograph (fig. 26), dated July 19, 1903, at the bottom of which Galizia wrote "*Partiro domani per Palermo e Napoli e continuerò direttamente per Malta ...primo solito vapore Italiano che arriverà Martedì. Tanti Saluti. E. L. Galizia.*" (I will depart tomorrow to Palermo and Naples and will continue directly to Malta... as usual first Italian ship that arrives Tuesday. Best wishes, E. L. Galizia.) The other side of the postcard was self-addressed to Signor Cav. E. L. Galizia C.E., Piazza Celsi, Valletta, Malta. I am grateful to Robert Galea for bringing this photograph to my attention.
72. Private collection. I am grateful to Francis Galea Naudi for permitting me to view and photograph this item, as well as other material relating to Galizia.
73. Following Edward Said's work *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), the literature on cultural misrepresentations of "The Orient" is vast. More specifically related to the cited passage we may cite, for example, Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Saqi, 2009), and Naji Oueijjan, *The Progress of an Image: The East in English Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996).
74. Part of the Ottoman inscription over the marble plaque within the prayer lodge states the following: *Eşref Bey tarafından / mescidiñ ta'miri / 1335* (Restoration of the mosque by Eşref Bey, 1335 [=1919–20]). Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10.
75. In one notorious incident, Major Haj Ali İsa of the Ottoman army, while detained as a prisoner of war at the Corradino military barracks, killed a fellow detainee, Dr. Sadi Necdet Efendi from Istanbul. The murder appears to have been motivated by old animosities arising from their different political affiliations. The victim, Dr. Sadi, belonged to the Young Turk Party, while Major İsa belonged to the more conservative political faction. Major İsa, aged forty, was sentenced to death on April 16, 1917, and executed on April 24, 1917. Both are buried in the Muslim cemetery.
76. The Muslim cemetery is located in an area heavily congested with vehicular traffic, and the resulting pollution, as well as periodic damage caused by the elements (mainly flooding and once even lightning), has adversely affected the cemetery's physical condition. The cemetery has been restored several times. In 1975, the local architectural firm England & England was commissioned by the Turkish government to oversee restoration work for a total outlay of LM 5,000 (Maltese pounds). See *The Times of Malta*, April 13, 1975, 9. Between 1995 and 1998, a concrete ramp, designed by the architect Stephen Mangion and financed by Turkey's Garanti Bank, was built at the entrance to the cemetery, in order to minimize the intrusion of rainwater.
Two commemorative plaques, one in Turkish and the other in English, were recently affixed to one of the side walls of the entrance kiosk. The plaque in English reads as follows:
Turkish Military Cemetery

- This cemetery was built in 1874 by the architect E. L. Galizia upon instruction of the Ottoman Emperor Sultan Abdülaziz Khan, in memory of the soldiers who were martyred during the Great Siege of Malta in 1565. The cemetery was repaired in the year 1919–1920 by Eshref Bey, Commander of the Muslim Warriors in Malta, and the monument was erected by him in order to keep alive the memory of those who died as prisoners of war in Malta during the First World War. May all martyrs' souls rest in peace.
77. The exiled Turkish nationalists, including the five parliamentary deputies, were Rauf Orbay, Esat Paşa, Cevdet Paşa, Cemal Paşa, Yakup Şevki Paşa, Kara Vasıf, Süleyman Nazif, Fethi Okyar, Ahmet Emin Yalman, and Ali İhsan Paşa. T. M. P. Duggan, "The Ottoman Taj Mahal—an architectural masterpiece in danger," *Hürriyet Daily News*, January 26, 2002.
 78. Efraim Karsh, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789–1923* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 327.
 79. Ziya Gökalp and Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Limni ve Malta Mektupları* (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 1965; 2nd ed. 1989).
 80. T. M. P. Duggan suggests that while visiting the Muslim cemetery in Malta, the Turkish nationals exiled in Malta could have "exported" architectural elements that were repeated in the former Imperial Medical School at Haydarpaşa, designed by the architects Alexander Vallauri and Raimondo D'Aronco. Duggan, "Ottoman Taj Mahal."
 81. Sultan Mehmed VI (1861–1926) was the thirty-sixth and last sultan of the Ottoman Empire (r. 1918–1922). On November 1, 1922, with the sultanate abolished, Mehmed VI had to leave Constantinople. He died in San Remo, Italy, in 1926. See Jesse Russell and Ronald Cohn, *Mehmed VI* (Miami: Book on Demand, 2015). See also David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922* (New York: H. Holt, 1989).
 82. The SS *Sardinia* had left Tangiers on its way to Mecca with several Moroccan pilgrims when a fire broke out on the ship as it approached the Grand Harbour, Valletta. For a full account, see Giovanni Bonello, "The *Sardinia* Tragedy: Death Outside the Grand Harbour," in *Histories of Malta*, 12 vols. (Valletta, Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000–12), vol. 6, "Ventures and Adventures," pp. 226–33.
 83. Jørgen Schøler Nielsen, Samim Akgönül, Ahmet Alibašić, Brigitte Maréchal, and Christian Moe, eds., *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1:233.
 84. *Souvenir de Malte: Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (Malta, 1886).
 85. During the second half of the nineteenth century Malta regularly participated in international exhibitions and fairs, including the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace, London (1851); the International Exhibition in South Kensington, London (1862); the Exposition universelle in Paris (1867); and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held at South Kensington, London (1886).
 "Malta and Maltese industry were well represented in the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition which was opened amid great splendor by Queen Victoria on May 4 at South Kensington. Numerous objects were sent from Malta: these were exhibited in 28 classes ranging from intricate wrought-iron work to cereals and farinaceous products; from gorgeous jewellery [*sic*] and precious stones to fermented drinks; from agricultural implements to models of ships; from fruit and vegetables to oil paintings; and from upholstery to bread, pastry and condiments. Malta was referred to again and again during the exhibition by a favourite appellation, *fior del mondo*. It was the traditional Maltese specialties—stoneware, lace and jewellery—that probably attracted most attention." A. E. Abela, " '*Fior del Mondo*': Maltese Arts and Crafts at Exhibitions Abroad," in *Grace and Glory: Malta; People, Places, & Events: Historical Sketches* (Valletta: Progress Press Co., 1997), 119–128.
 86. See Sir Victor Houlton, "Malta," in *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: Official Catalogue* (London, 1886), 460–61. Sir Victor Houlton served as the chief secretary to the government in Malta between October 1855 and April 1883.
 87. Duggan, "Ottoman Taj Mahal," as cited in Bonello, *Histories of Malta* vol. 6, "Ventures and Adventures," pp. 232–33. I am indebted to Judge Giovanni Bonello for bringing this description to my attention.
 88. Duggan, "Ottoman Taj Mahal."
 89. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 22.
 90. Zeynep Çelik, as cited in Susanne Fowler, "Istanbul Museum Parses '1001 Faces of Orientalism,'" *The New York Times*, July 10, 2013. See also Turgut Saner, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimariğinde Oryantalizm* (Istanbul, 1998).